DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 090 870 HE 005 472

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TITLE The Structure of Authority in University Departmental Government: A Sociological Analysis of Participatory Democracy and its Outcomes.
PUB DATE Apr 74
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, Illinois, April 1974)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$1.85 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Decision Making; *Educational Administration; *Governance; Governmental Structure; *Higher Education; *Student Participation; Teacher Participation; Universities

ABSTRACT

During the 1960s and extending through the present decade, universities have been undergoing a crisis with respect to the role of students in decisionmaking. This crisis has involved a fundamental reconsideration of the nature of university government, and the relationships of faculty to students. Presented in this paper is a case study of one of the first contemporary institutions to adopt departmental wide participatory democracy. The paper is in 3 sections. The first section outlines the formal structure of departmental authority, the nature of the departmental community, and describes the first major political debate of the year in question. The second section reviews 3 sets of implications which followed from participatory democracy in this department: group conflict, role conflict, and some general effects of the modification of the balance of power. The third section is a discussion of participatory democracy in relation to other forms of departmental government. The paper concludes with two alternative interpretations of the effects of the structure of authority in their form of university government. (Author/PG)

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THE STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY IN UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENTAL GOVERNMENT: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND ITS OUTCOMES*

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HE 005 472

*A paper to be presented at the April, 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Session 20.13

I am grateful to Professors E.A. Shils, Joseph Ben-David, and Charles E. Bidwell, and Mr Michael Burawoy of the University of Chicago for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I also wish to acknowledge the valuable assistance given to me by faculty and students of the department on which this study is based. The author maintains sole responsibility for the nature of the data presented in this paper, and its interpretation.

During the 1960s and extending through into the present decade, universities have been undergoing a crisis with respect to the role of students in decisionmaking. This crisis has involved a fundamental reconsideration of the nature of university government, and the relationships of faculty to students.

On the one hand, a body of academics have argued that the university and its government should be kept firmly in the hands of those most qualified to exercise it - that is, themselves. On the other hand, a body of students have argued for participatory democracy as a means of university government. They reason that as the ideals of society at large are democratic, and as the students have as much interest in departmental government as faculty, there should be provision for student participation in the structure of authority in the university. Students have insisted on their right to contribute to decisions in crucial areas such as hiring of faculty, development of course content, and determination of tenure. In a number of departments students have demanded parity in voting with staff on key committees(Ross,1972), and in a very few institutions each member of the department has an equal vote on all departmental issues.

The gravity with which this trend has been viewed by many academics is reflected in the journals of higher education. Ross noted, in his study of a Canadian university, that "the danger of participatory democracy in the university is that it may lead to an abundance of further education, but not to higher education as traditionally conceived".[1] Levy and Rothman are more dogmatic in their assertion that the university is not a democracy and should not be governed as one. "It is set up to discharge very special functions and cannot follow the democratic model",[2] in much the same way that hospitals and armies cannot operate as democracies. The university's special function is an imparting of expertise and this requires the "authority of the teacher - the communication of knowledge is impossible without heirarchy and discipline".[3] B.R.Williams also maintains that the university is not an autonomous democratic mini-state where democratic rules should apply. Full citizens are the masters. Students are admitted 'in statu pupillari' and they remain with this status until the masters certify they have some field mastery.[4]

These comments reflect a widespread interest in the forms of university government, because it is apparent that its form will influence the ability of the university to pursue traditional goals such as the pursuit and transmission of knowledge. However, despite this widespread debate over the role of students in university government, there has been very little empirical analysis of these

trends. In its most developed form, participatory democracy is a relatively rare occurrence. But because it is rapidly increasing in popularity it is a phenomenon worthy of close attention, quite apart from its interest to theorists of organizations and politics.

The present paper is a case study of one of the first contemporary institutions to adopt departmental wide participatory democracy.[5] The paper is in three sections. The first section outlines the formal structure of departmental authority, the nature of the departmental community, and describes the first major political debate of the year in question. The second section reviews three sets of implications which followed from participatory democracy in this department: group conflict, role conflict, and some general effects of the modification of the balance of power. The third section is a discussion of participatory democracy in relation to other forms of departmental government. The paper concludes with two alternative interpretations of the effects of the structure of authority in this form of university government.

I

The Formal Authority Structure

The department under consideration was contained within a graduate school of a large university. To a considerable extent the school was autonomous in its research and field activities, although it came under university jurisdiction in the matter of graduate education. The institution had been established with funds from the state to create an institution of distinction in research and development, and in graduate education. The School took its mandate seriously and went out of its way to attract scholars of stature from Europe and North America, and to also bring students from various parts of the world. Because of the facilities and financial resources of the school, it was remarkably successful in this endeavour and very quickly felt itself to be making a major impact on the academic world in its area of specialty.

The School also was highly innovative in the role it gave to students in university government. In the later 1960s it placed considerable emphasis on heavy student participation in practically all areas of decisionmaking, and student participation was explicitly built into departmental constitutions. Within the School each department was relatively autonomous in the management of its affairs, although certain decisions required approval by the School as

a whole, and others required consideration by other university graduate departments and the university wide central administration.

The formal role of students in departmental government is reflected in the general principles of the Constitution of the department on which this study is based. The Constitution begins:

> The Department recognizes the right of all its members to participate in the decisionmaking process in the Department and the importance of such participation for the welfare of the Department. This participation will be through the elected representatives in the Department Council and its committees and on special occasions through the Department Forum.
> The Department recognizes the principle of representative participation as the only means for providing each constituent group, according to its structure and composition, with an effective voice in the affairs of the Department while, at the same time providing the Department with mechanisms of optimal size for effective decision-making...
> The faculty constitute the core personnel of the Department and have a special responsibility to provide a vigorous and progressive leadership. They should shoulder a large share of the responsibilities required by the Department. Their academic freedom and special responsibility and accountability for the quality of their teaching and research and development activities are clearly recognized.
> Although the faculty will have a strong influence role in the Department, as a group they will have no special powers.
> The rights of minority groups in the Department shall be safeguarded against excesses of majority rule. This implies that ideally every decision should have the support of the majority of each group in the Department...

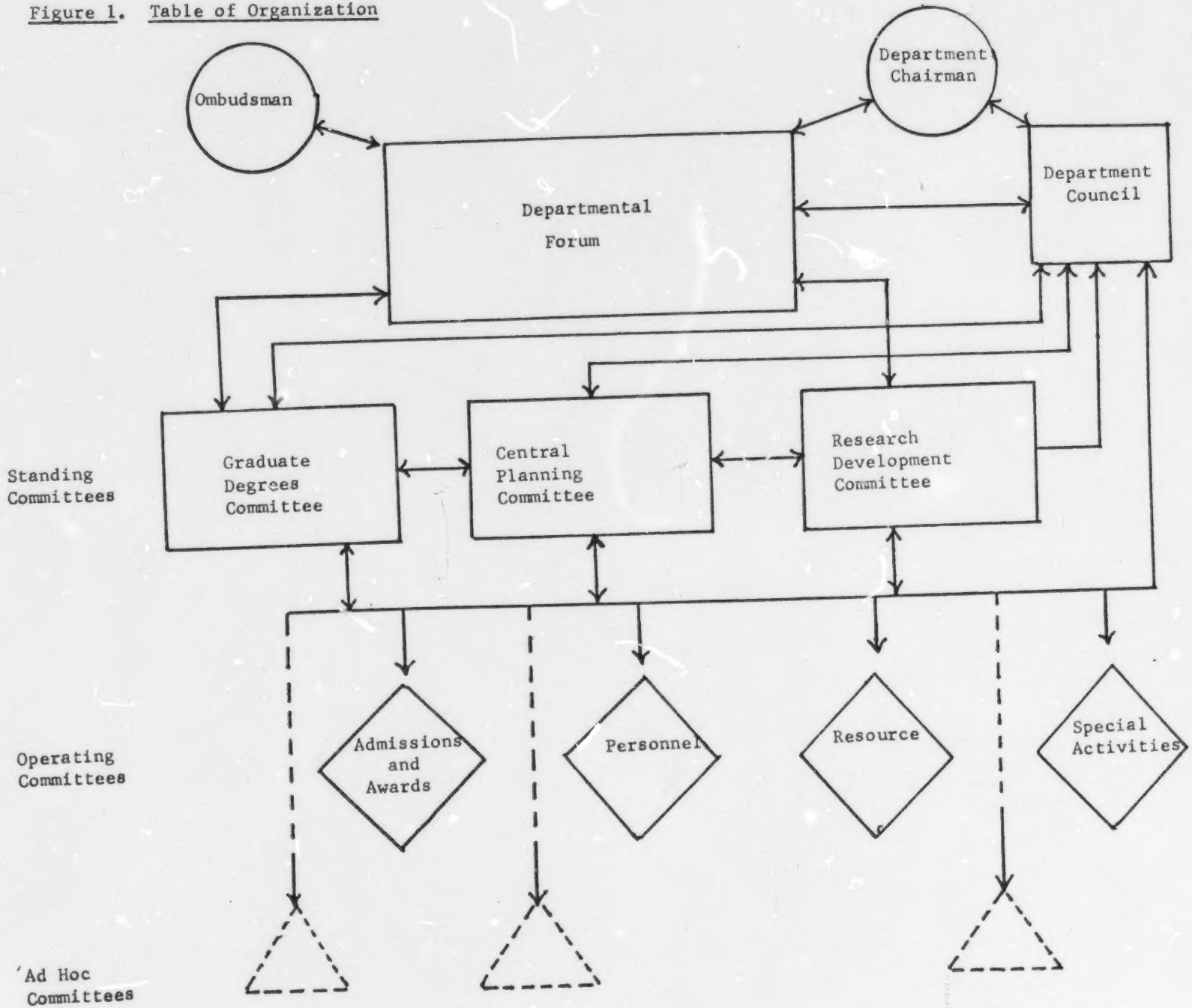
The formal organizational structure of the Department consistent with these general principles is given in Figure 1.

The central decision-making body was the Departmental Forum whose members constituted

> all persons holding appointments in the department...and...all students registered in graduate degrees in the Department. The Departmental Forum is the forum for communication and debate in the Department... Forum meetings will be devoted to promoting wide involvement in the business of the Department through discussion and when deemed necessary by the Council, voting on issues of particular importance to the Department as a whole...A motion will pass if it receives the support of a simple majority and is not opposed by a majority of the attending members of any constituency.

The Department was divided into three such constituencies. The first included all faculty members; the second included support staff (research assistants, full time data analysts and consultants, and secretaries and typists);

Figure 1. Table of Organization



and the third constituency consisted of all full time and part-time students in various graduate degree programmes. In practice, the vast majority of decisions were made on a simple majority vote of the department as a whole, and on only a relatively few and particularly important issues were constituency objections recorded.

The Department Council was a smaller representative body "to provide an effective organization of decisionmaking". It was designed to be a committee through which most of the business of the department was processed and was the central policy making body in the department. All policy suggestions, including those from the Standing Committees, had to be ratified by the Council before they were accepted as departmental procedures. But on matters of departmental wide importance matters of debate and dispute were submitted to the Forum for final decision. In this sense the Forum was the final arbiter of any issue in the department.

The day to day activities and decisions with which the department was faced were also handled by the Standing and Operating Committees. For special events ad hoc committees were also set up. These committees made decisions in their areas of competence, but the decisions were provisional until ratified by the Council or the Forum. Like the Forum, the Council and the committees had strong student and support staff representation. In most committees faculty were outnumbered by the students and support staff. For instance, the Constitution called for the Graduate Degrees and Research and Development Committees to have two students, two support staff, and two faculty. The Admissions and Awards Committees had two students and two faculty; the Personnel Committee had one faculty member and three students and/or support staff. The Council and the Central Planning Committee might have more or less faculty in proportion to students and support staff, but in practice faculty were represented in lesser numbers than the other two constituencies combined.

In formal terms, therefore, this form of departmental government goes considerably beyond the kinds of participatory democracy studied in Canada by Ross(1972) and George(1970), where at most,students had parity with staff on some committees. In the department under consideration, the formal structure of departmental authority gave the preponderance of power to those constituencies in the department with the most votes - the students and the support staff (although the Constitution allowed for minority groups such as faculty to use mechanisms to resist decisions with which they disagreed).

The Departmental Community

The departmental 'community' had three distinct groups which corresponded in large part to the political constituencies. The six faculty were younger men with doctorates from leading universities. As a group they had been recruited with the criteria of academic and research distinction mandated at the establishment of the School. They were very concerned with the professional activities of research, the presentation and the publication of scholarly papers and other works.

The students could be divided into three blocs each corresponding to a graduate degree. The most numerous were the applied masters degree students who worked full time and were pursuing a post-graduate degree part-time. They took very little part in departmental politics because they were not housed in the department and only came to the School on one or two nights a week. The other masters' students were housed in the department. They were seeking a more theoretical form of post-graduate degree which was not so immediately focussed on professional activities. The M.A. could either be terminal or it could lead on to a Ph.D. The doctoral students were least in number. They consisted of more senior students from the country in which the Department was located, from North America, and other western countries. Most of these degree candidates had been teachers or university lecturers before entering the university, and several came with post-graduate degrees from other institutions. While the majority of Ph.D. students were in residence, several were undertaking research for their dissertations in other parts of the world, or had taken up appointments and were continuing their research part-time.

The final bloc in the department were the support staff. This bloc was in turn divided into two sectors - the research assistants and the secretarial and clerical staff. The research assistants were for the most part, full time employees. They were social science graduates with some expertise and experience in various aspects of research methodology. The secretarial staff included an administrative assistant, a receptionist/secretary, and between six and eight secretaries.

The entire department had its offices on one floor of the School building, and with the exceptions noted above, all members of the department had offices on this floor. The secretaries were a partial exception to this generalization as they did not have individual offices, but shared a rather large common area

in an open space between two office wings of the department. These physical arrangements, together with the nearby opportunities for snacks and dining, brought the majority of the department into close proximity with one another, and greatly facilitated the possibility of social interaction between and within groups.

The Political Debates

There were three major political debates in the course of the one year during which this study took place. The first debate is reviewed in this section, and the following two debates are used to illustrate the analysis in the following section.

Gluckman(1961) has argued that one of the most effective ways to study the social structure of a group is to view that structure in a conflict situation, where lines of cleavage and patterns of continuity will stand out more clearly. This study does not give attention to the myriad of issues which were faced by each of the committees from month to month, but it rather focuses on the three major decisions and the operation of participatory democracy in the course of decision-making. Primary attention is directed at the debates in the Forum, rather than at the operation of the committees.

The first two issues were precipitated by the resignation of the chairman of the department in order to take up a new position. Two problems faced the department - the first concerned the replacement of the outgoing chairman by an interim chairman, and the second task involved the recruitment of a new permanent chairman. The academic year began with these two over-riding issues, and the department moved quickly to elect an interim chairman from the remaining faculty, while machinery was set in motion for the search for a new chairman.

The contingency of an Interim Chairman had not been foreseen by the drafters of the Constitution. Various proposals were offered at the September 23rd meeting of the Forum. A proposal was made that no interim chairman was needed and that the chairman role could be handled by existing and perhaps new committees. But this was rejected very quickly on the grounds that the administrative work load would be increased and too much pressure would devolve to faculty and students. Other proposals variously suggested that the committee responsible for recommending candidates for the permanent chairman might also review candidates for the interim chairman and report back to the Forum; alternatively it was

proposed that the Forum do its own searching and then vote on its own recommendations; or again, that the chairman of the Council become the interim chairman. The last alternative was also rejected, in part because one faction of the department was not in favour of Dr Williams, the chairman of the Council. This faction - a coalition of faculty, students and staff - considered that Williams had been groomed for the position of interim (and perhaps permanent) chairman by the outgoing chairman. They therefore viewed any suggestion that Williams might become chairman with more than a little caution. Eventually a compromise was effected so that the search committee for the new chairman would conduct an inquiry as to which faculty might be willing and able to act as interim chairman, but the Forum maintained its own power by reserving to itself the final vote on the candidates.

A heightening of interest in the interim chairman election developed in the following days as the faction which opposed Dr Williams for that position endeavoured to back a candidate of their own - Dr Radcliffe. The rivalry between the supporters of each academic was also fed by the notion that the interim chairman might have a headstart in the race for the permanent chairmanship. This idea gained such credence that Dr Fuson, a faculty supporter of Williams, felt it necessary to draw to the attention of the Forum that

> there had been some concern that the interim chairman would continue as full time chairman, but he felt that it must be recognized in the search committee and in the department, that this appointment being discussed is for the interim period only and that the appointment for a new chairman in the summer would be a new one.

To some observers Fuson's comment only served to indicate that there might indeed be an advantage for the interim chairman. However, a further discussion on the linkage between interim and permanent chairman relations was inconsequential in resolving the issue either way, and the department proceeded to vote on the interim chairman - a choice between Dr Williams and Dr Radcliffe. The voting was very close: Dr Williams received 18 votes (4 faculty; 12 students; and 2 support staff); and Dr Radcliffe received 19 votes(3 faculty; 8 students; and 8 support staff).

This result was a significant upset for some of William's faculty and student allies, and so the election result did not rest there. During the following week a student bloc which supported Williams made a constituency objection, as outlined in the discussion of the Constitution. William's student constituency

maintained that there were some procedural irregularities in the October 15th election as about eight students did not have mailboxes and therefore did not receive information on the election, or any indication they could vote by proxy. The support staff, who strongly supported Radcliffe's claim to the interim chairmanship, rejected the suggestion that this 'technical error' constituted grounds for a new election - unless it could be shown that the error was intentional. There was considerable discussion in the October 22nd Forum on a way to break this deadlock between the opposing parties, neither of which were convinced of the validity of the position held by the other faction.

To resolve the dispute, the Forum unanimously agreed to support a proposal put forward by the search committee. The proposal was that all relevant documents be submitted to an outside legal arbitrator whose decision on the legality of the October 15th election would be binding. The remainder of the October 22nd Forum was spent in discussing another contingency - exactly how would arrangements be made for voting if a new vote was proposed. There were several options submitted by various parties. Qualifications for the 'new suffrage' might be: first, that students be 'effectively housed in the department'; or second, if students 'were normally able to participate in the affairs of the department, but who were not able to attend the specific meeting in which the ballot is being held;or if students paid fees to the department and therefore would be affected by the interim chairmanship; or if students had taken the trouble to get the relevant information and find out about the situation. This issue was resolved in the form of the following motion.

> Proxy votes will be accepted by whatever means necessary, as long as they are received by the time of the election, from all members of the department who are effectively housed in the department, and by students who pay fees to the department. These proxy votes must include a statement by the proxy voter that he is unable to attend the meeting at which the ballot will be held.

During the following fortnight the case was submitted to an external legal expert. At the Forum of November 5th his judgment was reviewed. His report began by noting that "traditionally courts have been loath to become involved in cases of contested elections of associations". Further, he indicated that the Constitution made no provision for an interim chairman, and even those procedures applicable for electing a new chairman had not been followed. The objections to the October 15th vote had not been received in the specified time, a new Forum had not

been convened in the specified time, and neither had the conciliatory mechanisms of the department been employed. Instead, the department had used an informal method which followed neither consensus procedures or chairman election procedures to the letter. However, the arbitrator did maintain that the October 15th result was unconstitutional, and that further decisions concerning the interim chairman should follow the spirit rather than the letter of the Constitution. On this basis he concluded that in the interest of the spirit of parity expressed in the Constitution, and

> in the interest of representing all constituencies in the department a solution could be that the two candidates become co-chairmen. They could work side by side, each chairing alternate Council meetings, dividing administrative responsibilities and any compensation. Alternatively, the period of interim chairmanship could be determined and each man could chair the department for half the period.

The report was something of an anti-climax because it did not authoritatively resolve the crisis, and in fact brought forward two new suggestions which merely added to the complexity of the situation. Two other developments emerged in the November 5th meeting. The first broached the question of the administrative load in the department. Dr Radcliffe's support staff and faculty supporters had been arguing for him on the grounds that he was a very efficient administrator and this would make him a useful interim chairman. At this meeting, two faculty supporters of the Radcliffe cause introduced a motion that the burdens of extensive committee activities should be alleviated by placing more of the administrative load onto the chairman. There was no chance of this motion being unanimously passed. Dr Williams and the outgoing chairman had placed great emphasis on the principles of participatory democracy and were loath to accept any potential watering down of this ideal. On the other hand, the Radcliffe faculty faction were not particularly well disposed towards participatory democracy. They found it a drain on time and energy, and the quality of decision-making was not particularly satisfactory. They opted for a more centralized form of administration, and found some support for this position from senior Ph.D. students and several support staff. Nevertheless, it appeared to some of the Williams group that the motion for greater centralization was little more than a political ploy to generate opinion in favour of Radcliffe, and they saw to it that the motion came to nothing.

The meeting also included protracted discussion on the arbitrator's report. Clearly, both factions had interests in resolving the situation one way or the other. Radcliffe's supporters wanted things left as they were; William's wanted

a new election with an expanded suffrage which they hoped would be to their advantage. The ideas of co-chairmanship were rejected. So was the proposition that the old election be allowed to stand. Eventually a new election was called. The results were that Dr Radcliffe received 24 votes(faculty-1;students-12; and support staff-11); while Dr Williams also received 24 votes (faculty-3; students-17;and support staff-4). "As procedurally specified in the case of a tie vote, the chairman of the Forum tossed a coin". Radcliffe won the toss, Williams proposed that the Forum endorse Radcliffe for interim chairman, and the motion was passed unanimously.

This short account of the election of the interim chairman covers the least controversial of the three debates during the year. It also covers the time span of the first seven weeks of the academic year. However, the details given above provide a basis for the discussion on implications of an authority structure which has high non-faculty participation. This following discussion will also draw on the two other debates of the year. The second issue concerned the election of the new chairman: there were debates over the criteria for chairman selection, over candidates and their political views, national background, theoretical positions, and sex; there were debates over the selection of an internal or external candidate, over who would be eligible to participate in the elections, and over the mode of participation in those elections. The third area of conflict arose during discussions on the hiring of new faculty.

II

There are at least three sets of outcomes from departmental participatory democracy. First, attention is given to the nature of cleavages and their effects on departmental activities. Second, we consider the nature of role conflict among the participants. And third, some general observations are made on the implications of the modification of the balance of electoral power in favour of the students and support staff.

Departmental Factional Conflict

Since the earliest discussions of democracy there have been speculations that the extension of the suffrage to all classes will lead to class voting blocs where the aristocracy will be outnumbered. But not only do workers disagree amongst themselves politically,[6] Meyerson has observed that "if students do not trust

anyone over thirty, they often do not trust each other"[7] - an observation that might be made equally as well for faculty. In other words, political groups may be stratified horizontally and vertically.

This transformation of authority/class relations into relations cutting across class/authority lines, is evident in the debates over the choices of interim and permanent chairman. In each of these situations two distinct coalitions of staff, students and support staff emerged, and these coalitions were solidified as the year progressed. The voting record for the interim chairman election is indicative of this division.

The dissensus was not complete but rather represented the tendency of each group to lay stress on a particular - but different - component of the academic role. The faculty, for instance, were all committed to academic careers and were engaged in scholarly activities such as research and publication. Yet one group of faculty, those who supported Williams, emphasised the applied orientation of the academic, while the other group placed more emphasis on the traditional academic role with its stress on theory and research. To some extent this dichotomy is inaccurate because Dr Radcliffe was engaged in research highly relevant to the local economic situation, and Dr Williams was reputed among peers as an eminent young theorist. Yet the two groups came to be typed in this polar fashion, and their respective emphases became increasingly important as criteria for faculty and chairman appointments were discussed. A basis for this stereotype is illustrated during a discussion of two candidates for the chairman position. Dr Williams pointed out that one candidate was "someone who would communicate well with the field people", and another candidate had been praised as someone who "articulated well with the field". Williams concurrently made reference to the academic quality of the written work of these candidates, but it was his stress on 'field' orientations that set his position apart from that of Radcliffe. This difference is further exemplified during the staffing debates where Williams and his supporters, proposed the recruitment of a moderately well qualified candidate with considerable 'field experience' against the sometimes bitterly opposition of the opposing group who felt much more strongly about academic strengths.

The remainder of the department aligned themselves with the two faculty positions. The bulk of the Ph.D. students and support staff supported Radcliffe and the 'academic' position; and the masters' students and a majority of the faculty supported Williams.

The basis for Ph.D. student support for the 'academic' position was clear. These students had already made a commitment to an academic career, most had already been involved in 'the field',and their primary concern was the research with which they were involved. They would support a chairman and a new faculty member who would contribute to their academic interests. Moreover, several felt that as the market currency of degrees is partially dependent on the academic status of the staff with whom they studied, this was no time for innovations in applied activity, but called for the most highly qualified and respected scholars in the subject area.

The research assistants also largely supported the 'academic' position but they appeared more concerned with working conditions, salary and ongoing job security. Dr Radcliffe appeared to offer the best potential for attracting research funds to the department, and already several staff worked directly or indirectly for him. The factional position was also reinforced for some research assistants on the grounds of their personal antipathy towards Dr Williams, while others felt that his theoretical position was inherently conservative and was therefore politically objectionable. However, the coalition of the Ph.D. students and the support staff was not always maintained, and during the staffing debates a sharp conflict arose over the nationalities and theoretical positions of prospective faculty. The secretarial staff were less committed to Radcliffe on theoretical or 'funding' bases, but rather more on the grounds that he offered relief from the burden of administration. The latter was also a key point in the position taken by Radcliffe's faculty colleagues, one of whom periodically asserted he was leaving because he couldn't get on with his work alongside the constant pressure of administration, committee work, and political campaigning.

Support for Williams came principally from several faculty and the majority of masters' students. Two of William's colleagues had worked very closely with him and the outgoing chairman and were on good personal relations with each other. However, it is rather more difficult to characterize the motivations of the masters' students. The doctoral candidates sometimes stereotyped them as rather over interested in practical applied activities and very much less interested in theory and research. To some extent this was true although the 'field' students were just as much capable of frustration at the 'academic' causes espoused by their doctoral peers, as were the latter over the 'field' students.

What, then, were the effects of this cleavage among the two factions within the department?

First, it is apparent that the implications of the conflict were potentially more severe for departmental cohesion than in democratic systems at large. The conflict was exacerbated because all groups concerned were physically housed in the same building. Unlike most debates in society at large, all the protagonists were in face to face contact from day to day and so solidarity within groups was strengthened and antipathy between them was heightened. This does not mean that there was no social contact between the groups or that hostility was very pronounced. There was considerable hostility among one or two of the participants but for the most part members of the department were on speaking terms with one another, although they tended to mix socially with the groups with whom they also voted.

There is also a sense in which the political system in the society at large has institutionalized 'degrees of freedom' to moderate political divisiveness. There is one debate over a slate of candidates every few years, and the candidates handle the decision-making. The potential conflict of the campaign is given time to heal before the next campaign, and issues that arise in the interim are handled by the representatives. The form of government in this department meant that every important decision required debate amongst all the members of the department and so there was regular reinforcement of differences between groups.

Second, these regular Forum debates, which were taking place at least once a fortnight (with many committee meetings in between), were a tremendous drain on the resources of time and energy. This was more of an issue for the 'academic' faculty and the senior students. But the issue of time was exacerbated for the latter because those members of the department who were most exclusively oriented to research and 'traditional' academic activities also felt most strongly about the need to make decisions consistent with what they perceived to be academic values. Between meetings the faculty of the 'academic' group felt it necessary to find out what conclusions had transpired in various committees that were relevant to departmental wide decisions, to consider what alternatives might be proposed, and to rally support amongst students who were inclined to be apathetic. The problem of time was so prohibitive to some faculty that most members of the faculty bloc supporting Radcliffe had got to the point where they had spoken of leaving

the department, although the seriousness of the threats is difficult to judge. As a political ploy the threats were rather effective amongst the student supporters of the 'academic' position as the withdrawal of faculty with whom they were working on dissertations would be a highly disruptive situation. It is also possible that the 'field' faculty felt this pressure, particularly as Williams was also chairman of the search committee. However, it would have been politically indiscreet to have made objections to the very process that presumably would lead to the strengthening of the 'field' orientation in the department.

Third, not only did the debates make demands on time and energy, but the more the factions solidified, the more the issues were politicized, and hence the more time was needed to reach any conclusion. A rising tendency of mutual distrust between some members of the opposing groups meant that every event, however relevant to the issue in hand, could be judged in terms of its wider political implications. This was demonstrated indirectly in several ways. For example, an inordinate amount of time in the Forum was taken in setting up voting procedures. Besides the case noted earlier, procedural difficulties also arose in the chairman and staffing meetings. In both cases a certain degree of deadlock met with a plethora of alternatives. These alternatives appeared to get more complex the more variables there were which were relevant to the judgment to be made. For instance, whether the candidate would be internal or external, the nature of proxy votes, the time and money available for new staff and the distribution of these resources all appeared to generate complicated systems of decision-making in order to do justice to the range of variation of opinion on each of these points. These complex voting schemes were then scrutinized closely by either side to see if any advantage would accrue to either group in the adoption of one procedure or another. At times the proposals and counter-proposals were so complicated that several members confessed to considerable confusion as to the implications of proceeding one way or the other. Accordingly, the more candidates and issues, and the greater the need to come to an overall consensus, the more complex became the machinery to effect that consensus, and thus the more obfuscated procedures became for many participants.

The distrust which was attendant on the politicization of issues is also starkly reflected in the suspicion which surrounded a prospective phone call to one of the chairman candidates in order to clear up some disputes in the Forum about him. The 'academic' faction were most reluctant to allow Dr Williams, the chairman of the search committee, to call the candidate and eventually the

suggestion was made that the call be made by the neutral chairman of the Forum, but that the conversation be tape-recorded so there would be no hint of suspicion.

Fourth, it has already been noted that the political polarity was also associated with a degree of social polarity. A similar association was apparent between political polarity and the classes students attended. Students who were politically in opposition to a faculty member were somewhat less likely to attend his classes. The direction of causation is not clear, and the evidence is far from conclusive, but where students were only associating with their political allies, their range of learning experiences was reduced, especially as this department was not very large. This acted to reinforce internal divisions.

The fifth set of outcomes derived from the debates over the hiring of new faculty. The major difficulty was that several groups were concerned to hire the faculty but could not agree on the appropriate criteria. The support staff were strongly in favour of a national as the issue of nationalism in this department was particularly sensitive. They were also persuaded that new staff should have left wing political leanings, and would thereby be involved in social action, and the needs of the community. The masters' students largely agreed with the support staff although they were a little more reluctant to employ a political 'radical'. Some wanted to hire a woman, and others placed emphasis on a minority group candidate. Finally, the academic sector of the department were insistent that the department needed faculty who were strong in theory and methodology, and someone who was respected in the academic marketplace.

It was in the selection of staff that the department came close to losing its decision-making autonomy to the central administration of the School. The first candidate was a Marxist and was seen as a threat by the central administration who were very aware of previous agitations on his part in other settings. In addition, one of the key leaders of the 'academic' group had a close association with the administration and so he used their anticipated response to any appointment as a means of exerting influence on the direction of the choices. Eventually the Marxist candidate was rejected in an unusual display of unity by most students and faculty who resisted his politics - although grounds for rejection were stated as academic.

Whereas the preceding appointment was rejected on academic grounds because of major concern with political orientation, a second candidate was rejected on

political grounds principally because of her theoretical stance. A woman applicant with a Ph.D. from a highly reputable university and considerable strength in the areas pertinent to 'academic' interests was rejected after strong objections to the political implications of her theory, and an irreconcilable objection of the support staff that she was not a national and was insensitive to national issues. The issue of nationalism provoked a fierce debate because it was clear that the candidate was very much what the senior students and faculty wanted, and to them the nationalism debate was something of a red herring. On the other hand, she had shown little knowledge of the local situation and had made an unfortunate reference to a relationship between her own country and the country in question. This so incensed the support staff that they were able to reject her appointment with the support of the masters' students who neither liked her nationality or theoretical interests.

A third candidate was a woman national with a masters degree from an overseas university. This applicant had a B.A. in another discipline and had had some 'field' experience. She was attractive to the 'field' oriented group and the support staff, to the nationalists, and to the supporters of a woman appointment. However, the academic group were strongly opposed to the appointment. This candidate had very poor qualifications in the discipline taught in the department, they argued, and they further claimed she would add little to the teaching and research aspects. Moreover her formal qualifications were inferior to those of many senior students. The debate was characterized by considerable acrimony. Eventually, however, she was appointed by a coalition of staff, students and support staff who variously valued her 'field' experience, the fact she was a woman, her nationality, and her personality. After initial rejection of the vote by the central administration of the School, departmental representations were effective in getting a softening of the stand taken by the administration on her low qualifications.

A number of comments on the effects of group conflict over staffing could be made. It was apparent that very often non-academic criteria were largely the grounds on which decisions were made by many in the department. The need for groups to compromise in order to get a candidate accepted mitigated against candidates with great strength in one area, but not reasonably strong in other areas which might be important to certain interest groups. The fact that students and faculty who

wanted at least one highly qualified appointment were consistently outvoted also led to their further disillusionment with the whole process. They thought the value of their degrees and the department was being devalued by mediocre appointees. The selection procedure adopted here also gave some grounds for concern over the confidentiality of applicants' documents. Stout[8] has pointed out that failure to maintain confidentiality over appointments may mean that referees will be less than honest and frank, that candidates will feel themselves unnecessarily vulnerable to invasion of privacy, and that candidates may also wish to keep their applications confidential because of applications to other departments. However, the nature of departmental decision-making meant that eventually all members of the department could have complete access to all information on an applicant under serious consideration including their references. Finally, there was severe threat of the department losing its autonomy to the internal administration of the School. Already they were regarding the ideological dispositions of some candidates with more than a little caution, but they also informed the department of their reservations about the qualifications of some of the nominees for positions.

It therefore appeared that the department either had lost or might lose its legitimacy in a number of directions. It was losing legitimacy from the perspective of senior students and the 'academic' faculty as satisfactorily meeting its commitments to provide advanced training in the discipline. It was losing its legitimacy as a responsible decision-maker from the point of view of the administration. It also faced possible loss of legitimacy with respect to its treatment of applicants, and from the wider professional community vis a vis the quality of the department and students.

Role Conflict

Authority relations between faculty and students have traditionally been conceived of in terms of master-apprentice relationships, with a preponderance of authority in the hands of the masters.[9] The masters have greater skills and expertise[10], and they are gatekeepers into the profession. This gatekeeping role makes evaluation a crucial component of the traditional academic role where the profession must maintain "its standards of talent, erudition, and as a result of its status, by control of admission into the profession".[11] This places the faculty member in a dominant role, where authority flows from the professor to the student.

Participatory democracy fundamentally modifies this relationship to one of faculty-student negotiation. The student is dependent on the faculty member for admission into the profession, but the faculty member is also dependent on the support of the students, who have considerable power in influencing hiring, tenure, removal of faculty and promotion. The ambiguity in the role of the academic, who at once must evaluate and win support, is demonstrated in the concessions which faculty had to make to students in order to maintain their support base. Some of these concessions in hiring practices have been intimated in the previous discussion. But some members of the 'academic' group also saw concessions in the areas of modification of departmental requirements and student evaluation.

The strength of the student negotiating position is illustrated in the following example. All students were required to take a research methodology course, which was taught by a young and very competent methodologist. However, he was ideologically antipathetic and personally objectionable to the majority of the students. When the continued appointment of this faculty member was raised in the Forum, there was very strong opposition from several of the masters' students and one of the 'field' faculty. A very heated debate followed their suggested removal of him from the staff, and at one point it seemed highly likely that he would lose his position. Although the argument was based on the observation that he was a particularly poor teacher, the latter was seen as an expedient to justify action that would enable students to avoid his course - and him.

The faculty were also in a position of conflict over the means of student evaluation. Their professional values had to be held in tension with the need for political support. They had two options. They could win support by employing a very open grading system either using no grade at all, or using a pass/fail basis, or giving all students an A. On the other hand, they could range students along a grading schedule ranging from a few As down to a D or an F. There is no empirical data on which factions employed which methods, and even if there were it would be difficult to conclude that certain grading systems resulted from political pressure. But it was rumoured amongst the 'academic' faction that the field faculty had a tendency to opt for 'soft' grading systems, especially in one case where all students received an A for the course as a matter of course. It was easy for them to conclude that this was a political strategem for support.

Students who were not recipients of this grade advantage felt themselves at a disadvantage. It appeared to them that those in the department who were committed to an academic career and worked with the 'academic' faculty got less return in higher grades for effort, than those students who were less interested in an academic career and who invested less effort with other faculty. In the strong ideological temper of the times it was also easy for them to see this apparent, and possibly quite innocent inequity, as a deliberate policy of exchanging votes for grades.

The 'academic' faculty had little difficulty in maintaining the support of the senior students because the latter had already identified with the values of the 'academic' faculty. But those faculty who maintained a 'field' position appeared to be placed in a position of compromise because they had to rely on the support of a group which might not be so disposed to their academic interests and values. The masters' students were therefore able to demand several concessions. In the first place, some were wary about the departmental requirements in theory. Some students had satisfied this requirement by taking a very demanding course in another graduate school department where not only was the course load very heavy, but the evaluation was considered inordinately severe by numbers of students. Those who did not wish to take this course received permission to teach themselves theory in a student seminar where they read works of interest. While a faculty member was not officially designated as the seminar leader, faculty guests were occasionally invited. A second attempt at a concession arose when a small group of masters' students did not wish to write a master's thesis. They presented a petition that they should be able to observe in the 'field' and on the basis of a phone call from the supervisor confirming that they had done a period of field work, their thesis requirements might be fulfilled. The proposal, however, was not expected to be implemented by the Forum.

The faculty-student relationship under participatory democracy also was modified. Student contact with faculty could be interpreted in both academic and political senses, and some students were thus placed in a position of attempting to have academic consultations with a faculty member without implying political support. Non-support of an academic after consultation with him could be interpreted as lack of gratitude. An instance occurred when one of the 'field' faculty went to a good deal of trouble on his own volition to get a student in the opposing faction into a leading overseas university. The student concerned was so appreciative of his efforts that he noted he would have found it very difficult

to have been such an enthusiastic opponent of the faculty member concerned in the future, although both student and faculty member knew he was leaving and there was no hint of negotiation. For such reasons students tended to only consult with those faculty whom they supported politically. The need to separate matters of academic interaction from political negotiation often proved an insuperable barrier.

The Ph.D. students also felt a good deal of role conflict. While they wished to be left alone to pursue their work, they were under pressure from their supervisors to take part in debates, and the numerous other aspects of the political process. It was not easy for students to refuse to participate when there was influence being exerted on them by faculty who would evaluate their work and write their references. Usually the issue was resolved in keeping with their degree of completion of the doctoral programme. New Ph.D. students were more inclined to be highly active, whereas those students in the final stages of their dissertations either took no part at all, or only participated in critical sessions of the Forum when faculty solicitation of votes was strongest.

It was apparent that there were not only conflicts in "master-apprentice" relations, but in employer-employee relations. The secretaries found themselves in a difficult situation for a number of reasons - not the least of which was that most Forum votes were public and employers were able to note how employees were voting.[12] But secretaries were also required to make decisions on staffing when at least some of them readily admitted they did not have the technical competence to do so. It was often very difficult for them to vote for any one person with any conviction other than on criteria which they recognized were not very appropriate. Their employee relationships with faculty made independent voting on issues germane to their employers very difficult. Some secretaries found it necessary to maintain their employee role vis a vis their faculty member by voting with him and for him on any issue. Finally, the considerable gaps in authority and educational differnces between secretaries and faculty, placed the former in a position where they could be readily manipulated. At least one instance occurred during the close voting on the chairman issue, when a faculty member was accused of calling a secretary from the opposing faction into his office, and attempted to influence her voting choice. This event caused such indignation that the faculty member concerned felt it necessary to resign his position on a sensitive committee.

The Modification of the Balance of Power.

Participatory democracy was intended to widen the base of political decisionmaking in the department to all those who might be affected by the decisions being made. This section makes a number of general observations on the implications of this change.

Participatory democracy gave the preponderance of formal electoral power to those groups who had most people, and yet who also had lower qualifications. The classic pyramid structure of organizational authority where power is exercised from the top down was formally modified so that electoral power flowed from the bottom up. The M.A. students and support staff had more electoral power than the Ph.D. students, and the latter had more formal electoral power than the faculty. In this usage of the concept of power, most power lay with the groups with the lowest qualifications. The lack of qualifications can be viewed in several ways.

First, it is likely that the more junior the member of the department the more unlikely it is that he will have had exposure to certain academic values. The notion of academic values is a difficult one because it is by no means given that there is any universal concurrence among faculty on the role of the academic or of the university, and indeed the latter is often a point of contention.

There are two perspectives that grossly sum the ways in which the goals of the university have been conceived. The first perspective sees the university as a service institution preparing students for occupations (whether they be medieval clerics or contemporary lawyers), or the university engages in efforts to change and modify the society at large. In this view the university should deal with issues that are relevant to the problems of society. The second perspective is not completely opposed to the preceding formulation but it does lay stress on the mandate of the scholar to 'search for truth and knowledge' and it lays some value on faculty rights to 'pursue the paths of knowledge' whereever they or their interests lead. This approach is more amenable to a theoretical and basic research orientation than the former perspective. But the theoretical orientation is much more vacuous, more diffuse and less tangible to the non-university public, and probably also to the more junior university student and the supporting personnel.

The debates in this department appeared to suggest that masters' students and the support staff identified much less with the theoretical than with the

applied service orientation. This was particularly evident in the staffing debates where arguments for theoretically oriented appointments did not get enthusiastic support from these groups. The 'applied' groups either did not know and understand the values of basic theoretical research, or they were aware of these values but rejected them. If any kind of correlation can be drawn between the extent of higher education and commitment to theoretical and basic research values, the possibility for the latter to be devalued is greater under participatory democracy.

The transfer of political power to the lesser academically qualified members of the department also had the effect that decisions were formally in the hands of those who knew least about the actual subject matter field in which they were involved, and therefore probably also had less critical and evaluative ability to make decisions concerning that field. The raison d'etre for student enrolment in a university is to gain skills and knowledge he does not have. First year graduate students in this department, along with some secretaries and research assistants did not have a prior background in this subject as they may have had an undergraduate degree in another discipline. They were therefore at a considerable disadvantage in making decisions about curriculum, although many of the proposed curriculum revisions had to do with the two subject areas with which they were least familiar. They were perhaps at an even greater disadvantage in judging the long term value of theory and methods courses. Consequently, this method of government put students in a position where it would be possible for them to make decisions on issues which presupposed some of the expertise they were in the department to gain. Participatory democracy gave the group with the least knowledge of the discipline the most electoral power on decisions about how and what should be taught.

A similar conclusion follows with respect to the skills that are needed in much departmental decision-making. Decisions on staffing and tenure presuppose the ability to be able to decide between the quality of two or more pieces of scholarly work. Certain skills in discriminating between competent and incompetent work are required. This problem was critical in the departmental decisions on the new chairman and on new faculty. A major criterion for hiring faculty was ostensibly on grounds of their academic prowess. Yet very few members of the department availed themselves of the opportunity to read submitted work of the candidates. For the most part it appeared that decisions were made on grounds of

other characteristics of the candidates, or on the recommendations of respective faculty, who also may or may not have read the work.

There were two final consequences of this change in the balance of power. The first stemmed from the relative transience of the student body. Such transience meant that it was very difficult for the department to develop a long term perspective on staffing and curriculum planning. Each candidate tended to be judged on the criteria of the moment - or major needs were postponed for another year. Second, it appeared to the 'academic' students that the support staff and the M.A. students were prepared to devote more time to politics, because job and financial exigencies were not so pressing. The Ph.D. students consisted of a number of overseas students who were in the country for a limited time, and the national Ph.D. students were endeavouring to get academic positions as soon as possible. The net effect was that the students who probably had more skill and knowledge for decisionmaking were less prepared to devote time and energy to it.

III

We have argued in the preceding sections that there are three sets of effects which accompanied participatory democracy as the basis for departmental government. The debates over the chairman split the department into two separate factions. This political split was in turn associated with a degree of division in social and educational activities. As the issues became more politicized, the intensity of the debate grew, and so did mistrust and mutual suspicion. The intensity of the debates demanded considerable time and energy to the point where some staff had threatened they would leave, senior student morale was lowered, and the latter became disillusioned with the thought that the department and the worth of their qualifications were being devalued. Hiring practices were also affected. Weight was given to non-academic criteria, there was a tendency to support less than distinguished candidates, and the confidentiality of applicant supporting documents was in question. Further, the department was facing a loss of legitimacy from several quarters.

This form of government also gave rise to role conflict among faculty, students, and secretaries. The faculty were placed in a position where pressure could be brought to bear on them to make concessions to students in the areas of curriculum and possibly evaluation; students were often in compromising situations where their academic and political roles were uneasy bedfellows; and secretaries were also

open to influence by their employers and other faculty.

Finally, it was noted that participatory democracy gave the weight of electoral power to the least qualified members of the department. It was suggested that these personnel were less aware of certain academic values, had little substantive basis on which to make curriculum decisions, and little critical ability to make evaluations of written work. Moreover, the transience of students mitigated against long term planning and their greater readiness to be involved in politics was frustrating to those members of the department who wanted to concentrate on their academic work.

However, consideration of participatory democracy and its outcomes does not rest here. There are several other issues to be addressed. First, it is important to distinguish those features of participatory democracy which are shared by other forms of departmental government. Second, it is necessary to note those characteristics which are peculiar to this case study. Third, some consideration must be given to those conditions which are inevitable concomitants of participatory democracy. Finally, attention is given to an alternative interpretation of the authority relations in the department.

More traditional forms of university departmental government follow two general patterns. The first, which is more characteristic of the British system, has one senior faculty member, usually the senior professor, who has a seat on the University Senate or Professorial Board, and who handles virtually all major aspects of his department by himself. He often acts in concert with his senior colleagues, and operates on their advice, but in the final resort he makes decisions himself on planning, staffing, curriculum and evaluation. He is responsible only to the central decision-making body of the university. This form of departmental government has problems of its own, but it shares very few of the difficulties which arise with widespread faculty, student and non-academic personnel participation. The issues of role conflict and modification of the balance of power become redundant. There is less chance of department wide conflict, politicization of issues, or the strain of political debate, because for all intents and purposes there is no legitimate debate. Student morale may still fall, there may be distrust and suspicion among students and faculty, and hiring may be effected on highly idiosyncratic and personal grounds, but none of these trends are precipitated by excessive participation, but more likely its opposite. Like a benevolent dictatorship much of the tension of constant political debate is missing, or at least is underground. Here satisfaction of goals such as the pursuit

and transmission of knowledge is largely in the hands of one man.

But participatory democracy shares many features of a second form of departmental government which may be designated as 'collegial'. Such departments, which are more often characteristic of American universities, include the bulk of faculty in decision-making. There may be specific faculty committees on issues such as staffing, curriculum etc., and decisions are made on expedients ranging from faculty recommendations to straight faculty wide voting. To the degree that all faculty have 'equal' voting rights, then the effects of departmental wide participatory democracy will also likely apply in microcosm for the faculty. There may be faculty disputes, often on theoretical positions, factions may form, issues may be politicized, and hiring can become a highly partisan affair. Role conflict may still arise where faculty must evaluate their peers for tenure etc., but such conflict and the implications of the modification of the balance of power discussed earlier are much less prominent.

While some of the outcomes of participatory democracy are not peculiar to it alone, certain of the tensions arising in this case study may have been due to factors peculiar to this situation. It has already been noted that the physical location of members in the same area appeared to facilitate political activity, and give rise to greater intensity of participation and involvement. But the large number of support staff may also be unusual and have added to the uneven distribution of the balance of power in favour of those with lower qualifications. Moreover some support staff welcomed the political activities as a respite from their sometimes frustrating jobs, and this too may have added to the political intensity of the debates. A third feature of this situation was the cleavage among the staff on the role to be given to 'field' activities in the department. Where the staff were unified around common values and goals, many of the problems that arose in this case might be forestalled. Finally, the intensity of the debates, the time involved, and the degree of cleavage may partly be a function of the gravity of the issues involved. With decisions which had less far reaching implications the strength of feeling within and between factions may also have been moderated.

Despite the preceding comments there are basic structural factors associated with participatory democracy which are unavoidable. First, the balance of electoral power goes to groups which are less qualified and experienced to exercise it. This problem is most prominent when undergraduate are included

in the electoral system, and is least a problem where the senior doctoral students outnumber the first and second year graduate students. Second, all parties in a department governed by participatory democracy must play and balance out contradictory role obligations. The faculty dominate professionally, but are sub-dominant electorally; the students are subdominant professionally, but are dominant electorally; and the support staff are in a subdominant employee relationship at the same time as they have electoral power. All groups thus experience conflict in the degree of commitment given to their respective professional and political roles. Electoral authority relations are crosscut by patron-client, employer-employee relationships. These contrasting authority relationships inevitably entail a process of negotiation between the parties, and this in turn is a small step away from vote bargaining, however subtly and innocently that may be done. Third, participatory democracy generates group conflict. But while the change in the balance of power and role conflict are inevitable structural concomitants of participatory democracy, group conflicts are quantitatively rather than qualitatively different from those in collegial government. Greater political involvement of all parties very often brings an escalation of tension because issues stand out more starkly and stakes become higher. If there is departmental cleavage, strain, lowered morale, and mutual suspicion among faculty in collegial government, participatory democracy extends it to the entire department. There is therefore very little option but for students to get embroiled in the political arena with some of the attended consequences noted earlier.

We have discussed some of the differences and similarities in outcomes between 'democratic' and faculty dominated systems of government. But while the two systems appear to have quite different degrees of involvement, it is also necessary to compare the overall power structures in both settings. In other words, we might ask whether participatory democracy actually does radically change the locus of power and place in the hands of students and other personnel. To this point the bulk of the analysis and discussion has assumed the primacy of the electoral structure and the power of the vote. But voting power is not the only form of influence exercised in the department, nor is it the only set of authority relations. The preceding review of role conflict intimated that the electoral system which gives most power to students, is crosscut by patron-client relations which give most power to the faculty. The two power structures are not mutually exclusive - indeed they moderate one another. But an argument can be made that the

'patron-client' relation is the major dimension of the departmental power structure, and that the electoral system is merely a political arena where issues are aired, but eventually are decided in accordance with faculty preferences. There are three grounds on which this argument might be sustained.

First, faculty have extensive resources of power in their roles as employers, professionals, and intellectuals. As employers they have considerable control over the nature of the employee working conditions (work load, responsibilities, interest of job, side benefits etc), income levels, and job security. Although there are university and state controls on their powers, to various degrees these can be circumvented when desired. The stakes are no less high in the relations of students to faculty. Faculty have virtually total and unchecked control over student training and academic/professional legitimation. At their own volition faculty can moderate the time they spend with any student, the effort they put into courses and constructive evaluation, the pains they take to develop student abilities, and the effects they make to encourage the student. These factors can make or break a student very early in his graduate career. Even more power is evident in legitimation of students by faculty. It scarcely needs documenting that faculty evaluations, contacts, and the readiness to make use of contacts will make a great deal of difference concerning graduate schools to which a student will be admitted, the opportunities he will get to read and publish papers, and particularly, the job openings which will become available to him. Faculty are also seen as intellectuals. High qualifications from prestigious universities evoke deference from many people: from students who aspire to such heights themselves; from research assistants who recognize the high degree of expertise the qualifications reflect; and from secretaries who are constantly reminded of faculty power as they process communications with other powerful men and institutions and type seemingly incomprehensible but apparently erudite scholarly papers. To all these groups this aura of intellectual superiority has some degree of efficacy when there are decisions to be made, even though there is much variability in the recognition of this aura.

A second basis for the argument that faculty maintain their dominant position is derived from the evidence of this study. To what extent was their patron/employer power evident? It is very difficult to quantify and compare two forms of power, and therefore it is necessary to extrapolate from indications made

earlier, and to speculate on that basis. But it was noted that support staff did vote with their employers on most issues; students voted with their supervisors, they yielded to direct and indirect faculty pressure to participate, and they were subject to faculty threats of resignation to reinforce the readiness to get involved. Moreover, students and support staff often voted on the basis of faculty judgments about prospective candidates. It was apparent that to a large extent faculty were more informed about issues and candidates by their peers in other universities and the central administration.

Therefore, while we can conclude that students could legitimately and consistently over-ride faculty in electoral processes, this never happened on any issues in which faculty were in accord. It could be argued that students and support staff had much more to lose in the long run by forcing such an open confrontation. However, when the faculty were sub-divided, non-faculty could exercise some leverage as both faculty factions needed support in the electoral system. Here negotiation with students, and concessions by faculty were often necessary, but such events were limited and it is possible that faculty were in such a position of power that they could choose their grounds and terms of negotiation in order to yield in areas of least concern to them.

This view of participatory democracy in practice is fundamentally different from the participatory democracy of the organization chart. While students appear to have the balance of power in their favour, they are in fact subject to more powerful but less formal faculty power. With a few concessions here and there, then, faculty could forestall students demands for participation, and at the same time maintain the power that they originally had. Effective faculty power is masked by ostensible student and support staff electoral power.

This somewhat tenuous interpretation of departmental politics should not have been surprising for a third reason. It might have been predicted from 'pessimistic' theories of democracy. Both Michels(1962) and Mosca(1939) argued that democracies would eventually be ruled either by an oligarch or a ruling class. The rule of oligarchs was inevitable for Michels because while the bulk of the masses were ignorant, disorganized, and often disinterested in politics, the elite controlled lines of communication, had greater political skills and power, and had a strong personal interest in maintaining that power. For Mosca democracy was little more than a political formula used to legitimize the class position of the ruling elite and divert the sub-dominant class from bringing too much pressure to

bear on it. Contemporary studies have also argued that democracy in America is a byplay to the real locus of power (Mills,1956), and even a pluralist theory of democracy takes its starting point from the fear of elite manipulation of the electoral process. (Janowitz and Marvick,1956)

There is insufficient data in this case to press the faculty dominance thesis too far. Nevertheless, it remains a distinct possibility that for the most part faculty did not lose control of departmental power with the introduction of universal student participation - that the patron-client, employer-employee relations took precedence over the majority-minority electoral authority relations. For those, who like the nineteenth century upper class Britons, feared the entrance of the 'masses' on the electoral scene, this analysis may be comforting; large numbers of the students were passive and apathetic, and most of those who were neither of these were susceptible to faculty control. For those who harboured great hopes for the political efficacy of participatory democracy, both the study and the pessimistic theorists of democracy offer at most a mixed return on expectations.

But there is one final question to be broached - whom did participatory democracy profit? Whatever interpretation of departmental power is preferred, there were costs to all participants. Extensive political activity was required by faculty to maintain and rally their constituencies; considerable political investment was demanded of students who had to cope with their academic work and the distractions of incessant political debate; the support staff also spent considerable proportions of their time in politicking. For all parties, therefore, participatory democracy had the effect of diverting attention away from academic activities to political activities. The latter may have their own rewards. But it is questionable whether the investments in participatory democracy were compensated for <u>any</u> party to justify the costs which a departmental wide juxtaposition of political and academic roles inevitably demands.

Footnotes

1. Ross,M.G. 'The Dilution of Academic Power in Canada: The University of Toronto Act', Minerva, Vol X, No 2, April 1972, page 258
2. Levy, G and S. Rothman, 'On Student Power', American Association of University Professors' Bulletin, Fall 1970, page 280
3. Ibid, page 281
4. B.R.Williams, 'University Values and University Organization', Minerva, Vol X, No 2, April 1972
5. For ethical reasons the author has made considerable effort to assure the anonymity of this department and its members. Accordingly, no details are given about the name of the university, the country in which it is situated, the discipline concerned, and the time period involved (other than to say that the events occurred after 1969). Fictitious names have been given to all the participants, and modifications of the titles of organizational structures have also (sometimes) been made. Several details of events which occurred and are relevant to the argument are left out so that no person or the institution is identifiable.
6. Cf R.McKenzie and A.Silver, Angels in Marble: Working Class Conservatives in Urban England, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965
7. Meyerson,M, 'In the Dark:Authority and the Governance of Universities', American Association of University Professors' Bulletin, Summer 1971, page 163
8. A.K.Stout, 'On University Appointments: Thoughts after Knopfulmacher', Minerva, Vol IV, No 1, Autumn 1965
9. Williams, op.cit.
10. R.S.Peters (ed), Concept of Education, London: Routledge,Kegan,Paul,1967
11. Joseph Ben-David and R.Collins, 'A Comparative Study of Academic Freedom and Student Politics', in Student Politics, Seymour Martin Lipset (ed), New York: Basic Books, 1967
12. On especially important votes such as those for the final balloting for chairman or staff, the voting was secret. But for many votes on the same issue but at earlier stages voting was public.

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George, P.M. 'Reflections on an Experiment in Participatory Democracy in a Sociology Department: A Case Study', A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Banff, Canada, December 1970

Gluckman,M. 'Anthropological Problems arising from the African Industrial Revolution', in A.Southall(ed), Social Change in Modern Africa London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1961.